524 of the sun. One girl approaches it, and claps her hands under its nose, singing in a monotonous tone :

Gala-gala, hana-hana nhloko !
Big lizard, lift up, lift up your head !

It seems that the lizard is so fascinated by the song that he stretches his neck and swings his head to and fro during the whole time that the girl claps her hands.

524 136 226 To the *crabs*, which are very numerous in the slime on the sea-shore, and have only one claw, coloured green, violet or enamel blue, they sing :

Ba ka mphembemuiwe, tlakula silawuto !
Come along, you animals with only one claw ! Lift it up and bring it down a, ain.

The little girls who go hunting crabs as a condiment for their food assured me that, on hearing this song, the crustaceans do come out of their holes, and that the harvest is then a large one.

When an *owl*, mistaking the time, comes out of her hiding place at noon, she is received with applause, and they sing to her :

Shikotana, gaulela fole !
Owl ! flap your wings ! You will find tobacco !

524 Another girls' game, which is wide-spread, and in which the young Thongas acquire great proficiency is called : *ku tha buhlolo*. They take a string tied at both ends so as to form a large ring, and make all kinds of complicated figures by twisting it with their fingers and even with their lips. I have made a drawing of some of them. Girls compete together and try to surpass each other in inventing new figures. They teach each other this *buhlolo*.

Another old game, which is found under various forms in a great number of countries, is the *mathakisana*, knuckle bones. Girls gather stones of the nkanye fruit (tinfula), dig a hole, and put them into it. One of them takes a kind of ball (shigungu), perhaps a small sala fruit or any other fruit. She throws it in the air and, in the meantime, takes out of the hole four or five stones and puts them back, leaving only one outside. This stone is then

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

834 784 581 829 733 They must not enter the hut of a person dangerously ill ; this would hasten his death. People who are just recovering from a disease, when they walk about on the paths, must tie around their ankles the root called sungi, which will protect them against the perspiration or emanation left by married people in their footprints, because, as one of my informants said, "ba-ku-khila ba hisa," viz. married people are hot.

834 836 581 829 Moreover not only individuals but the whole social life would be endangered if sexual relations took place when the community itself is in a critical position. They are prohibited therefore in wartime, during the whole duration of hunting parties, and also during the marginal periods. Strange to say, this law does not apply so severely to unmarried boys and girls amusing themselves according to the "shigango" custom (p. 97). It seems that it is not the act in itself which is tabooed, but the act in as much as it is accomplished by regularly married people : in this case only has it a bearing on the life of the community.

What is the reason of these prohibitions ? "Married people are hot." What does this aphorism mean ? The following rite may help us to understand it.

831 834 226 829 789 771 In the Malulcke country, when the whole population enters a lake to kill fish according to the tjeba custom (Part IV. Chap. I), a little boy and a little girl are chosen and laid down under a lion's skin, as if they were husband and wife, and told to remain very quiet during all the time the grown up people are fishing. Not knowing anything about sexual intercourse, they will obey ; then the fish also will keep quiet and will be killed easily. Why ? Because there is in the sexual act something wild, fierce, passionate which, according to the law of correspondance which is at the base of all Bantu magic, has an influence on the hostile forces : these will be excited and more difficult to overcome : enemies in battle, the animals of the bush during hunting and fishing parties, disease, danger of contamination at death and during the marginal periods. Life is, so to speak accelerated by the sexual act, and this acceleration is communicated to the whole of Nature. Therefore : Keep quiet, be continent!

This profound conception of life also explains why so often certain actions must be accomplished by children, not yet able to have sexual relations, or by old women who no longer practise them.

Let us remark that all these rites do not belong to Animism, properly speaking, but to Dynamism (Part VI. Chap. I), which plays a part almost as important as Animism in Bantu primitive philosophy.

262 784 were shrimps in it, he disdainfully refused to take his share. — "We are Ba-Ngoni! We do not eat fish," he said with disgust. First, shrimps are not fish ; he was "plus royaliste que le roi!" Second, he did not abstain from the sauce because it had an unpleasant flavour ; it was more tasty than ever! But the *social idea* dictated his attitude. He boasted of belonging to a superior race. He was not like these wretched Ba-Thonga who eat fish! It would be lowering himself to partake of such a meal, so he preferred to fast.

I witnessed the same scene when we were distributing cakes to our school children in Lourenço Marques. One of the girls was the daughter of a pure Ronga woman and an Indian Mussulman. She inquired if the cakes had been cooked with lard. The cakes were excellent, and she found them so, nevertheless she refused to eat them if they contained lard, because her father was not allowed to eat pork. It is evident that there is but one step from this clan repulsion, which is still a nyenya, to a definite taboo. Let the boy or girl *fear* that some evil will happen to them, because they have transgressed a sacred rule, and the nyenya will become a yila. Let it be admitted by them that the transgression of the rule may bring death to the family or the clan, and the primitive individual feeling of disgust will be transformed into the most severe collective taboo. I can quote no instance in proof of this evolution, as we have no knowledge of the past history of the taboos. From the psychological point of view, however, this process is quite within the range of possibility.

III. *Fishing.*

226 821 There are no particular restrictions to fishing so long as it is carried on by *hooks*. Any one can go with his boat on the river, the lake, or the sea, and throw his line into the water. The fisherman will then say : "Thu! (not the sacramental tsu, but only an onomatopœia describing the fall of the hook into the water). You! my hook! they eat to their heart's content, people who dwell yonder, where they pound their mealies kneeling down (bugimamusi), there where the khwekhwe and the mhulu are, etc. (names of different kinds of fish)." Afterwards the fisher throws a pinch of tobacco on the spot where his hook

fell, not as an offering to the gods, but in order to help his hook 226
to see (hanyanyisa), to awaken it and "give it eyes to catch." This 821
sentence referring to the place "where people pound their mealies standing, or kneeling down," is an allusion to a curious cosmographic notion, which we shall explain later on (Part VI. Chap. I). Seeing the sky reflected in the water, the fisherman thinks of the ends of the earth, where heaven rests on the ground, and where women are obliged to kneel down when crushing their mealies, lest their pestles hit the sky!

There are three other principal methods of fishing, and, as they 226
are more or less of a collective nature, they are regulated by 784
laws and attended with taboos : the nhangu, the shibaba and the tjeba.

The *nhangu* is a triangular enclosure made of sticks stuck in the sand on the seashore. This enclosure has an opening looking seaward. The tide covers the nhangu, bringing with it all kinds of denizens of the sea, big lobsters, shrimps of all sizes, fish, etc ; when it retires, all these creatures are imprisoned in the nhangu, and try to find their way out through the opening ; this however is closed, and the fishers collect their catch, which is sometimes considerable. A man who wishes to build a nhangu must pay a tax to the chief of the country. During the operation he must observe the law of silence ; if anyone should speak to him, he must not answer. When the nhangu is ready he goes straight to his hut, and washes his hands, and then he can speak again. Should he transgress this taboo, the fish will rush about wildly in the trap and he will be unable to catch it. This is not a *kunga* proper (I. p. 124) but only another application of the rule imposed for example on the wife of the hippopotamus-hunter (II. p. 69). On the day of inauguration, (khangula), all the inhabitants have the right to come and partake of the result of the first fishing. This is a *luma*, the luma of the nhangu. The owner of the trap is not allowed to take a single fish home that day. Everything must be consumed on the spot.

The *shibaba* is another kind of trap, made of woven reeds, 226
which is placed on the banks of a river, of the Nkomati, for 834
instance, near the sea, within the tidal reach ; when the tide is

low, the fish is imprisoned between the reeds and the bank. 226
The construction of this trap is governed by strict laws : no 834
sexual relation is allowed during the five or six weeks of the fishing. The owner of the shibaba must cut the first reed. Women must not approach the spot. On the day of inauguration there is also a luma ceremony similar to that for the nhangu.

But the most curious fishing custom is the *tjeba*. "Ku tjeba" 226
means to kill fish in company in lakes which are drying up. At the end of the winter most of the small lakes scattered all over Thongaland, get smaller on account of the drought, and the fish they contain, consisting mostly of carp and barbel, are obliged to congregate in much smaller spaces. Natives take advantage of this and the whole country-side is summoned to go and tjeba, on a certain day, as it is important to be as numerous as possible in order to ensure success. The chief orders all his men to make *shiranga*, a kind of conical basket, a foot and a half high, whose upper end is open and wide enough to admit the hand. The shiranga must be very strong ; the tree used for the purpose is called ntjangari. When the shiranga are ready, a messenger is 202
sent to all the villages, crying : 226
626

Kho ! Khoooo ! Hobe ! Hobeee ! U yala nsateeee ! Na nsati a randja nyamooo ! A randja mihlubeee ! Kho ! Hobe !
You hate your wife ! Your wife also is fond of flesh food ! She is fond of the flesh of the tail of fishes !

Every male member of the tribe must answer to this summons by going to the shore. Should he refuse the call, he is blamed and despised, and his companions will sing to him a mocking song :

U yala ku tjeba, nyaïhwaku !
You refuse to fish, nyaïhwaku (1).

In the evening his wife will scold him, on seeing that he brings no fish home! She will punish him by giving him mealie pap without any sauce!

Before the throng enters the lake, someone must *make an* 226
offering ; he must be a descendant of the inhabitants of the country. 782

(1) Nyaïhwaku is a formula of insult (I. p. 445).

not necessarily a member of the reigning family. He does not perform the full sacramental *tsu* ; he merely spits without having put anything into his mouth, and says : "Let fish abound! Let them not hide in the mud! Let there be enough of them to satisfy every one." Then all the men, quite naked, throw themselves into the lake, which is only one or two feet deep ; they put their shiranga into the water and hold it firmly down on the bottom ; a fish has perhaps been caught ; it is heard flapping

The tjeba fishing. *Phot. A. Borel.*

about inside the basket. The lucky fisherman seizes it through the opening. He carries a wooden pin to which a string is attached ; this string is called by the technical name of *ntjungwa*. He passes the pin through the gills of the fish and ties it on his string. Then he goes on fishing. All his companions do the same. The frightened fish scatter in all directions : but on all sides the shiranga fall over them, and the men have soon made a good haul. When they have reached the extremity of the lake, they come back shouting the following words : "Phindu-na-ye!" —"Come back, following them!" They are allowed when tired to come out of the water and rest in the rays of the sun. The more pertinacious, however, remain in as long as they like. When

when
226 the fishing is finished, they all sit down and compare their catches.
651 Perhaps an enormous barbel has been caught, "the king of the lake," as these fish sometimes attain a very large size. "Woo! a dle ñhwakwe!" — "Oh! he has killed his mother," say the men, making fun of the fortunate fisherman! But the chief sends an induna who levies the tax. Each fisherman unties one fish from his string and gives it to him.

226 The tjeba fishing is practised all over Thongaland, in Ronga
782 territory, where such ponds are numerous in the sandy hollows, amongst the Hlabis, and in the neighbourhood of rivers where there are lagoons which dry up, as far as the Maluleke country. Should there be crocodiles in the pond, which may very well happen when the lake is connected with the Limpopo or the Nkomati, the religious ceremony is more important on account of the danger incurred. Then the bones are thrown and declare who must make the offering in order to secure adequate protection from the ancestor-gods. The officiator enters the lake first, and, plunging his shiranga into the water, says : "If you are here, crocodile, go away! you hyena, do not bite." Amongst the Maluleke, a man of the Ba-Nyai tribe must perform the religious ceremony, as the Ba-Nyai were in the country before the Thongas. He must go first and catch a fish, bring it out alive, and then, surrounded by his fellow Ba-Nyai, offer it to his ancestor-gods. Then he throws it back into the water. The Thonga chief, having ordered his men to keep silence, then makes the following proclamation in a loud voice : "Let the fish abound, and kill them all, but do not bewitch each other!"

226 The Hlengwes have a very curious custom which I have already
825 explained when discussing the Bantu notion of sexual relations
834 (I. p. 189). When they *tjeba* they take a little boy and a little girl, and lay them down together under a lion's skin, as if they were husband and wife, during all the time that they are fishing. The children keep quiet, — so the fish will also keep quiet and not swim away. When the fishing is concluded, these children are "awakened," and are given a part of the catch : they are praised and thanked, as they are supposed to have secured the fish by their action... or rather by their inaction! This very significant

rite may explain why sexual relations are prohibited during all important hunting and fishing operations. With their magic conception of Nature, Bantus do not separate the domain of man from the animal world ; human actions have their immediate effect amongst animals. So if men and women keep strict control over themselves, hippopotami, fish or elephants will not be so wild, and hunters will have more success! 226 825 834

* * *

Meat is either boiled (pseka), or roasted (wosha). When boiled, the broth is called *muru*, (Ro.) or *sheshebo*, (Dj.) the same name that is given to monkey nut sauce or any other seasoning. When roasted, it is either placed on the embers, or skewered on sticks (lihanga) and exposed to the heat of the fire. 252

The blood of animals (bubendje) is also eaten by most men. However, many fear it (tshaba), not on account of a yila, as if it were taboo, but rather from individual loathing. There are no special laws to be observed as regards bones. The meat of sacrifices, offered in the funeral rites, must be eaten *on the road*, not in the mortuary nor in the guests' villages, as we have already seen. 262

Meat is welcome, and eagerly sought after in time of famine (ndlala). Should the October rains fail, or the crops be destroyed by grasshoppers, as has been, alas, frequently the case since the first appearance of these pests in August 1894 (1), the Natives are bereft of every resource (2). They dig up all the edges of the 262 731 [136]

(1) Just at the commencement of the war between the Natives and the Portuguese, grasshoppers arrived in thick clouds in the district of Lourenço Marques. They had not been seen for a great number of years : old folk only recollected having seen them in bygone times. Since then the scourge has never entirely disappeared. The coincidence of their coming and the beginning of hostilities struck the Blacks very forcibly ; they often said, at the sight of the grasshoppers : "They announce the armies of Gungunyana."

(2) Here is a pretty couplet with reference to famine :

Nkondjo wa nhlengana shipopokwana ?

— Lembe ra ndlala a he ngume kusuhe !

The traces of the little antelope (nhlengana) (which one sees in the desert a long way from its lair) recall the year of famine, when one does not stay near home ; (one must go a long way to search for food). See also the several allusions to the year of famine in *Les Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, p. 158, 160 et seq.